England [Appx - Hurd P - 1751]
8139. ell. 43

A

PROPOSAL

For UNITING the

KINGDOMS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON, Printed: And DUBLIN, Re-printed,

For RICHARD JAMES, at *Newton's-Head*, in *Dame-ſtreet*, Bookſeller.
M,DCC,LI.

(Price a Britiſh Sixpence.)

A

PROPOSAL

For Uniting the KINGDOMS of

Great Britain and *Ireland.*

THE firſt Principle of all Schemes offered to the Public is their general Utility. This alone ſhould claim a candid and impartial, if not a favourable Attention. Upon this Principle let the following Scheme be tried; nor does the Perſon, who propoſes it, wiſh it may ſucceed on any other. He truly thinks, and hopes he ſhall be a-

ble

ble to prove, that it will produce to both Nations many more and greater Advantages, than either can enjoy untill they ſhall be united. But before he attempts to enumerate theſe Advantages, it may be neceſſary to give a clear and certain Idea of the Union he propoſes.

He does not, therefore, mean a fœderal and partial Union, but a complete and perfect Incorporation of the two Kingdoms, inſeparably and perpetually united; formed into one Government, under the ſame King, and the ſame Laws; and repreſented by the ſame Parliament; enjoying the ſame Privileges and Immunities; confined by the ſame Reſtrictions, Prohibitions and Regulations in Trade; having the ſame Alliances, the ſame Enemies; and paying an equal Proportion of Taxes, Cuſtoms, Exciſe, both in Peace and

and War, that in all Inſtances they may become one People in Affection, as well as Intereſt. And however unequal *Great Britain* and *Ireland* really are, or may be ſuppoſed to be, in every Circumſtance of Wealth, Power and Commerce, they may be joined, through all their Parts, in one great Whole, by a fair Scale of Equivalents and Proportions; as two Merchants, of very unequal Property and diſproportioned Debts, may enter into Partnerſhip of Profit and Loſs in Trade. Perhaps, among all the Works of Nature, there never were two Bodies perfectly equal in Bulk, Weight and Figure; certainly never among the Works of Art, as all political Bodies are. But that Bodies moſt unequal may, with mutual Advantage, be united, there are numberleſs Inſtances, both in Nature and Art.

Let

Let us now endeavour to prove, that by the Union we propoſe, a new national Intereſt may be formed, productive to both Nations of more numerous and greater Benefits than either of them can ſeparately enjoy.

The principal Objects of the Attention of *Great Britain* are the Proteſtant Religion in general; her own preſent Eſtabliſhment, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, and the Preſervation of that Ballance of Power among the Nations of *Europe*, which can alone maintain their common Liberty. Let us now conſider, what Advantages ſhe can propoſe to herſelf with regard to the firſt of theſe, the Proteſtant Religion, by her Union with *Ireland*.

The

The preſent Inhabitants of that Iſland are computed at ſomewhat leſs than two Millions; but were it cultivated, as it certainly would be under the Inuflence of an Union, it would be capable of maintaining at leaſt ſix Millions; and conſequently, according to the political Maxim, That Numbers of Inhabitants are the Wealth of a Nation, it would become three Times richer than is is at preſent. This Maxim, it is confeſſed, like another among the Learned, who tell us, That a Number of Words are the Riches of a Language, muſt be underſtood in a reſtrained Senſe. It muſt neceſſarily mean, that theſe Inhabitants are honeſt, frugal and induſtrious; for a number of idle, extravagant, diſhoneſt People is the Ruin of a Country, as a Number of Words, if not expreſſive, harmonious and preciſe,

preciſe, rather oppreſs a Language with a Superfluity of Sounds, than enrich it with Abundance and Variety.

But we are told, that the *Iriſh* Natives, who are a great Majority of the preſent Inhabitants, are an idle, lazy Generation; ſo perverſely, obſtinately idle, that the Encouragements of an Union, and the Example of Induſtry among the Foreigners, who might ſettle in the Country, would be loſt upon them. The Charge of Idleneſs is acknowledged, but we cannot acknowledge that it is abſolutely, like ſome national Diſeaſes, incurable.

No People are by Nature either idle or induſtrious beyond the Neceſſities of Life. What we call Conveniencies (generally a larger Term for Luxury) add a new Spirit to Labour,

bour, and encourage us to bear the Fatigue, that enables us to purchaſe them. The *Hollanders*, oppreſſed and enſlaved by the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, had little of that Spirit of Induſtry which has ſince made them the moſt powerful Republic in the World But without relying upon Examples, we may venture to aſſert, as a Maxim founded in human Nature, that Man will never work for Man, if he does not find his own proper Advantage by his Labour.

If this Reaſoning appear juſt, let us apply it to the preſent State of *Ireland*. A very large Propo tion of the Lands there, is let from Year to Year, or rather is held at the Will and Pleaſure of the Landlord: If he will not take the Trouble of letting his Eſtate in little Parcels himſelf, which however is often done, he gets what is

called a ſubſtantial Farmer, who venturouſly takes five or ſix hundred Acres. Theſe are too many for his little Stock to manure, to plow, or to graze. He therefore divides them, and lets ſome of them to poor Cottagers. Thus the Landlord receives his Rent, the Farmer gets a moderate Subſiſtance, the Farm, in general, is uncultivated, and the poor Cottager is oppreſſed. He uſually pays thirty Shillings a Year for his Houſe of Clay, with a Garden, ſo it is called, for his Cabbages and Potatoes, his only Food; and in Proportion for a little Land to graze a Cow, or perhaps half a dozen Sheep. The Rent of his wretched Tenement he pays in Labour, at five or ſix Pence a Day, while his only Security for the next Year's Poſſeſſion, is not to improve his miſerable Farm, or ſeem to grow rich in the Cleanlineſs, or Cloathing,

Cloathing, or Food of his Family. If Providence hath not created ſome Nations to Slavery, and the very Suppoſition is Impiety, ſurely no People will labour upon ſuch Terms. Will not human Nature reſent ſuch Treatment? It were a very contemptible Being, if it did not.

However, from this Manner of acting, there are, generally ſpeaking, but two Ranks of People in *Ireland*, the very Rich and the very Poor. From hence the two Extremes, perhaps not to be found in any other Country, of Luxury and Poverty. But when the Union ſhall increaſe the Number of Inhabitants, the Landlord will not be under a Neceſſity of letting a greater Number of Acres, than the Farmer is able to cultivate. When he ſhall find it his Intereſt to grant longer

Leaſes; when the poor Natives ſhall be reſtored to the natural right of human kind, a Property in their own Labour, if there be not ſome phyſical Cauſes of Idleneſs in their Climate, they will ſurely become as induſtrious, as their Neighbours of *Great Britain*.

As the Benefits of Trade will probably encourage Foreigners to ſettle in *Ireland*, ſo Merchants and Manufacturers, being Proteſtants, ſhould be invited by a general Naturalization. The Popiſh Intereſt there would then become inconſiderable, and *Ireland* would in a few Years be a Proteſtant Nation. When in the Spirit of religious Liberty they ſhall have thrown off the Yoke of Tranſubſtantiation and the Pope's Infalibility, they will at the ſame Time diſclaim the no leſs bold Abſurdity and Contradiction

to

to common Senſe, that of Hereditary Right and Paſſive Obedience. Thus will they, at once, become the Diſciples of the pureſt Church, that profeſſes the Doctrines of Chriſt, and Subjects of the beſt Conſtitution of Government that ever bleſſed Mankind. How great a Support they will be to each, we need not ſay. Only this; the ſame Strength, which would thus apparently maintain the preſent Eſtabliſhment of *Great Britain* in Church and State, would certainly with equal Zeal engage in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion in general, and the Liberties of *Europe*.

A great Objection againſt the Settlement of Foreigners in *Ireland*, is the Unhealthineſs of the Climate. But as the Bogs, which occaſion this formidable Objection, were once firm

firm Land, ſo when the natural Drain for the Water, upon which they lie, can be found, they will ſink again to their proper Soil, and become as fruitful as any other Part of the Iſland. The Sun draws its Vapours from this unwholſome Mixture of Earth and Water; thoſe Vapours fall again in almoſt perpetual Miſts and Rains, ſo that the Inhabitants of that part of the Country may be ſaid to breathe Water. But when theſe Bogs ſhall be wholly reclaimed (a neceſſary good Effect to *Ireland* of a Union) the Sun will draw a far leſs Quantity of Vapours, and thoſe from a cultivated Soil, which impregnates the Air with Particles of Health. A ſufficient Progreſs hath been already made to inſure the Succeſs of the whole, and not without ſome conſiderable Effect upon the Climate. When this great Work can be

be brought to Perfection, and the Lands of *Ireland* univerſally cultivated, we may venture to ſay, it will be as healthy a Country, as any in *Europe*, eſpecially as it is more temperate than any other with regard to Heat and Cold.

Another very popular Objection there is againſt the Union, that *Ireland* would ſoon rival *Great Britain* in her moſt valuable Branches of Trade. He ſeems to me to know very little of the Circumſtances of either Nation, who pretends to compute in what Century this dreaded Rivalſhip may happen. *Ireland*, it is confeſſed, is much improved, but, if compared to *England*, her Lands may truly be ſaid to be ſtill uncultivated, and her Manufactures unimproved. Her Ports, which Nature hath opened to the Trade of almoſt the whole World, are not known

firm Land, ſo when the natural Drain for the Water, upon which they lie, can be found, they will ſink again to their proper Soil, and become as fruitful as any other Part of the Iſland. The Sun draws its Vapours from this unwholſome Mixture of Earth and Water; thoſe Vapours fall again in almoſt perpetual Miſts and Rains, ſo that the Inhabitants of that part of the Country may be ſaid to breathe Water. But when theſe Bogs ſhall be wholly reclaimed (a neceſſary good Effect to *Ireland* of a Union) the Sun will draw a far leſs Quantity of Vapours, and thoſe from a cultivated Soil, which impregnates the Air with Particles of Health. A ſufficient Progreſs hath been already made to inſure the Succeſs of the whole, and not without ſome conſiderable Effect upon the Climate. When this great Work can be

be brought to Perfection, and the Lands of *Ireland* univerſally cultivated, we may venture to ſay, it will be as healthy a Country, as any in *Europe*, eſpecially as it is more temperate than any other with regard to Heat and Cold.

Another very popular Objection there is againſt the Union, that *Ireland* would ſoon rival *Great Britain* in her moſt valuable Branches of Trade. He ſeems to me to know very little of the Circumſtances of either Nation, who pretends to compute in what Century this dreaded Rivalſhip may happen. *Ireland*, it is confeſſed, is much improved, but, if compared to *England*, her Lands may truly be ſaid to be ſtill uncultivated, and her Manufactures unimproved. Her Ports, which Nature hath opened to the Trade of almoſt the whole World, are not known

known even to the Natives, excepting thoſe, who live in the neighbouring Counties. Indeed, it would be greatly uſeful to the general Navigation of *Europe*, to have a Chart of the Weſtern Coaſt of *Ireland*, and its Harbours.

But allowing this formidable Objection of Rivalſhip to be juſt, which certainly it is not, of what conſequence will it be to the great Whole, in what Part of the united Kingdoms any particular Branch of Trade ſhall flouriſh? What matters it, for Inſtance, and that the popular Inſtance, whether the Woolen Manufacture continue in the Weſt, or whether it travel Northward, as it really does, or whether it ſhall go to *Ireland*, when united to *Great-Britain*?

We are not ignorant how diſagreeable this Language will be to the common People of *Great-Britain* in general, and eſpecially to ſome particular Counties in *England*. But if it be the Language of Truth, let us not be afraid to ſpeak it. We are not propoſing a partial Union. We do not write to any Set of People, whoſe private Intereſts will engage them againſt the Meaſure we propoſe. We are not ſanguine enough even to hope for their Approbation, or ſo ignorant of human Nature, as to expect it. Our only Deſign is the Public Good, the mutual Advantage of both Kingdoms; while we write only to them, who are able, impartial, diſintereſted Judges of this great Scheme; ſome of whom may probably be appointed to carry it into Execution. We truſt, they will have Abilities to anſwer all real

Objections, and Spirit enough to deſpiſe a meerly popular Clamour. To them we may without Apprehenſion repeat, that it is Matter of pure Indifference in what part of the United Kingdoms, any particular Branch of Trade ſhall flouriſh.

But the People need not be alarmed. The Fact is not yet become a Matter of Diſpute, and to prevent all future Apprehenſions we ſhall endeavour to prove, that whatever Trade *Ireland* ſhall gain by an Union, will not be gained from *Great-Britain*, but from other Countries, her Rivals in Trade, or her natural Enemies.

Let us then ſuppoſe the Trade of the whole World divided into twenty Parts. Let us ſuppoſe (a very large Suppoſition in favour of *Great-Britain)* that ſhe hath five of theſe Parts.

Parts. Will it not plainly follow, that *Ireland* will gain a Proportion of three fourths from other Countries, and only one from *Great-Britain*. Let us then compute the great additional Duties, which *Ireland* muſt pay for the Liberty of Trade, and it will clearly appear how conſiderably *Great Britain* muſt gain by this dreaded Article of an Union.

If indeed ſhe were able alone to ſupply every foreign Market with her Woolen Manufactures; if no other Nation had already, or might hereafter take from her any Part of it, ſhe would then very wiſely forbid *Ireland* to meddle with it. But ſince the *Dutch* and the *French* have already a great Share of it, and are every Year gaining yet greater; ſince there is a larger Demand in foreign Markets, than *Great Bri-*

Objections, and Spirit enough to deſpiſe a meerly popular Clamour. To them we may without Apprehenſion repeat, that it is Matter of pure Indifference in what part of the United Kingdoms, any particular Branch of Trade ſhall flouriſh.

But the People need not be alarmed. The Fact is not yet become a Matter of Diſpute, and to prevent all future Apprehenſions we ſhall endeavour to prove, that whatever Trade *Ireland* ſhall gain by an Union, will not be gained from *Great-Britain*, but from other Countries, her Rivals in Trade, or her natural Enemies.

Let us then ſuppoſe the Trade of the whole World divided into twenty Parts. Let us ſuppoſe (a very large Suppoſition in favour of *Great-Britain)* that ſhe hath five of theſe Parts.

Parts. Will it not plainly follow, that *Ireland* will gain a Proportion of three fourths from other Countries, and only one from *Great-Britain*. Let us then compute the great additional Duties, which *Ireland* muſt pay for the Liberty of Trade, and it will clearly appear how conſiderably *Great Britain* muſt gain by this dreaded Article of an Union.

If indeed ſhe were able alone to ſupply every foreign Market with her Woolen Manufactures; if no other Nation had already, or might hereafter take from her any Part of it, ſhe would then very wiſely forbid *Ireland* to meddle with it. But ſince the *Dutch* and the *French* have already a great Share of it, and are every Year gaining yet greater; ſince there is a larger Demand in foreign Markets, than *Great Bri-*

tain can poſſibly ſupply, were it not worthy of her Wiſdom to give, at leaſt ſome Part of it to *Ireland?* The *Iriſh* would, in Truth, only become her Factors, ſince all their Wealth, after a little Circulation at home, would certainly fix at laſt in *Great Britain.*

The *French* have already got Poſſeſſion of the *Turky* Woolen Trade, nor is it ſaid in the Spirit of Prophecy, that it will never be recovered, until the *Iriſh*, whether united or un-united, be permitted to manufacture and export their Wool for that Purpoſe.

But, in Truth, this Branch of Trade ſeems to be loſt for ever. Even the *Iriſh*, with all their Advantages, will not be able to recover it. The *French* are much better ſituated. Their Port of *Marſeilles*

ſeilles opens to the main Ocean, and they ſail directly to *Turky*. The Voyage from *Ireland*, without reckoning Accidents of Wind and Weather, is at leaſt five Weeks longer; conſequently the *French* go ſo much cheaper, and ſo much earlier to Market. However, it would greatly diſtreſs them, were the *Iriſh* allowed to manufacture their Wool, ſince it would effectually ſtop that unhappy Practice of running it, by which the *French* Trade is in a great meaſure ſupported.

But in a far more valuable Branch of the Woolen Manufacture, that of Stuffs and Camblets, the *French* a few Years ago were able to underſel the *Britiſh* Merchant in *Portugal*. This Trade was wholly loſt. The *Iriſh* attempted it, and in ſpite of all Prohibitions effectually recovered it, and even at this time poſſeſs

coming to *Great Britain.* The Liſt of her Abſentees is already very numerous. The Sums expended here by her People of Buſineſs, or her People of Idleneſs, and by her Youth for Education, are conſiderable. But if we ſuppoſe the Lords and Commons, choſen to be her Repreſentatives in ar liament, reſiding here, perhaps the whole Year, certainly during the Seſſions, with their Wives, Children and Domeſtics; if we compute the Numbers, whom Buſineſs and whom Pleaſure (as they will then have no Court or Parliament in *Dublin*) will bring over hither, we ſhall be convinced how large a Part of the Treaſures of that Kingdom will annually come hither, without any Poſſibility of returning. Even the Taxes, to be remitted hither, will make no inconſiderable Addition to the Account.

In

In what Proportion *Ireland* may be ſuppoſed capable of paying her Share of the common Taxes, muſt be left to the Wiſdom and Integrity of the Perſons, whom his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to appoint in each Kingdom, to make a fair and equitable Calculation. But it is apparent, that even immediately, upon the very firſt good Effects of an Union, ſhe will be able to pay a conſiderable Portion of the neceſſary, annual Expences of the Government. Thus *Great-Britain* will be greatly relieved under the Weight and Preſſure of her Taxes. She may be enabled to ſupport another War, when the Ambition or Injuſtice of her Neighbours ſhall make it neceſſary.

Even theſe Reaſons, for it would be tedious to enumerate more, may convince us how advantageous an

Union will be to *Great-Britain*. Every Reader, in Proportion to his Abilities, will find other Arguments, and ſome, perhaps, better. We ſhall only mention one more, to prove, that this is the proper Time for propoſing it.

The *Iriſh*, by a late Spirit of Improvement, and an Emulation of Induſtry, encouraged by Præmiums, however inconſiderable in themſelves, are increaſing the Wealth of the Nation. The Natives are growing more induſtrious; their Lands are a little better cultivated, and their Manufactures, of all Kinds, improving. Their Progreſs is indeed ſlow, but they are in the right Road, and every laſt Step is an Encouragement to proceed. Yet as even a little Addition of Wealth, to them, who have lived long in extreme Poverty,

Poverty, is apt to inſpire them with Inſolence and Vanity, perhaps the *Iriſh*, influenced by ſuch Motives, may hereafter unwiſely refuſe an Union, if offered to them, and certainly it will never be a wiſe Meaſure to force them to accept it. The People of *Great-Britain* are too ſincerely the Friends of Liberty to attempt it, and the *Iriſh* are of too warm a Spirit tamely to ſubmit to it, although Reſiſtance would be their Ruin. May the good Providence of God, which watches over the Happineſs of theſe Nations, forbid even a Thought of it.

Let us now conſider what Advantages the *Iriſh* may promiſe themſelves by an Union. Let them then imagine their Country, within a few Years, improved in the Number of its Inhabitants, in the

Health of its Climate, in the Cultivation of its Lands, in a Degree of Riches and Plenty, which they muſt not expect in Ages, according to their preſent Meaſures of Improvement. Let them ſee their loweſt Natives reclaimed from Ignorance and Superſtition, and animated with Sentiments of Liberty, which do Honour to human Nature, as well as beſt ſecure its Happineſs. Let them ſee their Ports opened to the Trade of the World, and their Ships going abroad with their own Manufactures, and returning with the Bleſſings, which Providence hath divided to different Countries, as if with Deſign to promote an univerſal Commerce of good Offices among Mankind, for their mutual Happineſs. If Ambition have any Effect upon them, let them

ſeize

ſeize this Opportunity of entering into the Affairs of *Europe*: of having an honourable Share in determining the Fate of other Nations, and fixing their own for ever.

At preſent *Ireland* hath no Character, not even a Name in the Affairs of *Europe*. Her little Regalia, her Parliaments and their Debates are confined within their own Kingdom. And however the Gentlemen of *Ireland* may love to talk of Freedom and Independance; however warm they are in their Sentiments of Liberty, yet theſe Sentiments (altho' hereafter they may be of Uſe to the great Cauſe of Liberty in general) with regard to them are purely imaginary. No Nation is truly free, that cannot reſent the Inſults, and repel the Violence of her Enemies; but *Ireland*

land hath really no Being, as a Nation ; neither domeſtic Trade, nor foreign Influence, but under the Protection of *Great Britain*. Should ſhe withdraw that Protection, *Ireland* muſt fall a Prey to the firſt Invader, without even the Power of chuſing herſelf a Maſter.

When *Ireland* conſiders her own Poverty, ſhe muſt naturally be alarmed at the Names of Taxes, Cuſtoms, and Exciſe. But let her recollect, that although ſhe ſhould be obliged to pay all Duties of Import and Export equally with *Great Britain*, yet the Sum of the Duties of Exportation will always be proportioned to her Degree of Trade, which will ſufficiently enable her to pay them, and that thoſe of Importation will in a great meaſure depend upon herſelf.

All

All Duties, in general, of Importation, may be divided into thoſe upon Goods, that contribute to Luxury, and thoſe, of which we have the ſame kind, although in leſs Perfection, manufactured in our own Country. We might frugally live without thoſe of the firſt ſort, ſuch as Wines, *&c.* or might in part ſupply the want of them at Home; or as they are generally uſed only by the Rich, the Payment of them is a Tax only upon Folly and Extravagance. The ſecond kind of Duties is laid upon the Importation of Goods, in ſome meaſure neceſſary, ſuch as Silks, Velvets, *&c.* but which, in tolerable Perfection, may be manufactured at Home. The Duties upon this Kind can never be laid too high, that the Poor of the Country may be employed, and the Rich may be puniſhed for their

their Luxury in encouraging foreign Manufactures.

From hence it is manifeſt, that the *Iriſh* will have it in their own Power, in ſome meaſure, to fix the groſs Sum of their Duties of Importation, nor can they ever be greatly oppreſſive, but by their own extreme Wickedneſs and Folly. The ſame Reaſoning is equally juſt with Regard to the Exciſe.

We might here congratulate the *Iriſh* upon one Duty, which, it is hoped, may effectually put a Stop to their ruinous Trade with *France*, and amount almoſt to a Prohibition of *French* Wines. Their Lands will ſoon be better employed, than in grazing Cattle for foreign Exportation; or whatever they ſhall think proper to feed for that Purpoſe

poſe, beſides what may be neceſſary for our own Colonies, *Jamaica*, and the *Leeward* Iſlands, the *French* will be obliged to purchaſe at their own price. Whereas at preſent they not only ſend their Beef and Butter and Money, but, it is to be feared, even their Wool, for a moſt deſtructive Commodity. Such Trade is not meerly unprofitable. It is pernicious in a moral, as well as mercantile Senſe. Wines, in large Quantities, are not a ſimple Commodity. They bring with them every Exceſs of Luxury, Riot, and Diſeaſes. And although the Gentlemen of *Ireland* will loſe many jovial Hours of Mirth and Good-humour, yet we think too highly of their Patriotiſm to doubt, that they will chearfully reſign them to the Good of their Country.

But however the Duties of Import and Export may be rated, the Land-tax, the moſt formidable of all others, will be laid according to the preſent Valuation of Land; conſequently the raiſed Rents, which may juſtly be expected from an Union, will never be liable to be taxed. Yet as no public Benefit, however great, ſhould be purchaſed, without abſolute Neceſſity, by doing Injury to private Perſons, there is one particular Diſtreſs, which deſerves to be conſidered. There are ſome Eſtates in *Ireland*, which are let upon Leaſes of Lives, renewable for ever; conſequently, whatever Advantages the Tenants may gain by an Union, the Landlord will be obliged to pay the Land-tax, without being able to raiſe the Income of his Eſtate.

Among

Among other Schemes to redreſs ſuch Grievances, the following may merit ſome Regard. The Crown-Rents, and Quit-Rents, which theſe Eſtates already pay, and which are in Truth a Land-tax, although under another Name, may be remitted. But ſuch Diſtreſſes as this are inconſiderable. It is mentioned only to ſhew, with how much Equity this great Scheme may be executed.

It was not intended in this Paper to propoſe any Plan of Equalities, upon which an Union might be formed. They may, without Difficulty, be fairly and equitably ſtated. The Writer intended only to ſhew how deſirable, how equally advantageous ſuch a Meaſure may be to both Nations. Let him, however, be forgiven, if he preſume, though with all due Modeſty, to offer his Sentiments upon a very de-

licate part of his Subject, that of bringing the Lords of *Ireland* into the *Britiſh* Parliament. When the Number ſhall be fixed, which can only be done by a Scale of Equalities formed on a Proportion of Taxes, let them not be elected every Parliament, as the Peers of *Scotland* are. If his Majeſty ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to conſent to it, let the Honour of ſitting in the *Britiſh* Houſe of Peers, with all other Privileges of the Peerage, be granted for Life to the Perſons firſt choſen in their own Country, whether they be choſen there by Ballot or Election. When any of them dies, let another be appointed in the ſame Manner. Thus all Inconveniences of frequent Elections, Diſputes, Quarrels, Animoſities will be, in a great Meaſure, avoided. The Peers of *Ireland* will be more united with thoſe of *Great-Britain*; they will come over independent

dependent of the Caprice, Reſentments and Inconſtancy of their Electors; they will bring with them ſuch unbiaſſed, uninfluenced Sentiments, as are worthy of a *Britiſh* Parliament.

But indeed there is little Apprehenſion, that they will bring with them any other Sentiments of Loyalty and Liberty, than thoſe upon which a limitted Monarchy is founded. There is, in general, this Difference between the Subjects of the two Kingdoms, that the Proteſtants of *Ireland* are more clear and unmixed in their Zeal for the preſent Government. Their Loyalty to their Prince, and their Love of their Country, are yet untainted with that unhappy Diſtinction between Court and Country. I had almoſt ſaid, that unmeaning Diſtinction. A Prince, who knows our Conſtitution, if not irritated by an unneceſſary,

ſary, malignant Oppoſition to his Meaſures, and the People, if not inflamed by the bad Arts of a few deſigning, ambitious, turbulent Spirits, will eaſily diſtinguiſh, and naturally purſue the public Good. Their intereſts are truly inſeparable. They ſhould not be ſuppoſed capable of being divided, and ought not to be diſtinguiſhed away by Party or by Factions. At leaſt, it is a Contradiction to the Principles of Patriotiſm, certainly to thoſe of Liberty, to enliſt in a Party againſt the Court; to think it a Breach of Engagements ever to imagine it right in its Meaſures, or give a Vote in its Favour. As if his Majeſty were the only Perſon in his Dominions, incapable of knowing his own intereſts, and his Miniſters were always moſt infallibly either weak or wicked. May we not hope, that the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, who

ſhall

ſhall be choſen into either Houſe of Parliament, as they will come diſengaged and unbiaſſed, will have ſome influence in preventing the fatal Conſequences of theſe unhappy Diviſions; this unneceſſary Spirit of Oppoſition.

Let us now acknowledge, that there is one Difficulty, in the Execution of this great plan, which yet ſeems inſuperable. For if no private, ſingle perſon ſhould be injured for the Sake of whatever Advantages to the Public, it is with infinite Concern we mention a moſt venerable Body of Men, the Right Reverend the Lords Biſhops of *Ireland*, as likely to ſuffer moſt eſſentially by an Union, and without any poſſible Equivalent to be paid them. Even the public Good muſt ſuffer with them. To their Eloquence in the Houſe of Lords of *Ireland*;

to

ſary, malignant Oppoſition to his Meaſures, and the People, if not inflamed by the bad Arts of a few deſigning, ambitious, turbulent Spirits, will eaſily diſtinguiſh, and naturally purſue the public Good. Their intereſts are truly inſeparable. They ſhould not be ſuppoſed capable of being divided, and ought not to be diſtinguiſhed away by Party or by Factions. At leaſt, it is a Contradiction to the Principles of Patriotiſm, certainly to thoſe of Liberty, to enliſt in a Party againſt the Court; to think it a Breach of Engagements ever to imagine it right in its Meaſures, or give a Vote in its Favour. As if his Majeſty were the only Perſon in his Dominions, incapable of knowing his own intereſts, and his Miniſters were always moſt infallibly either weak or wicked. May we not hope, that the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, who

ſhall

ſhall be choſen into either Houſe of Parliament, as they will come diſengaged and unbiaſſed, will have ſome influence in preventing the fatal Conſequences of theſe unhappy Diviſions; this unneceſſary Spirit of Oppoſition.

Let us now acknowledge, that there is one Difficulty, in the Execution of this great plan, which yet ſeems inſuperable. For if no private, ſingle perſon ſhould be injured for the Sake of whatever Advantages to the Public, it is with infinite Concern we mention a moſt venerable Body of Men, the Right Reverend the Lords Biſhops of *Ireland*, as likely to ſuffer moſt eſſentially by an Union, and without any poſſible Equivalent to be paid them. Even the public Good muſt ſuffer with them. To their Eloquence in the Houſe of Lords of *Ireland*;

to

to their Wiſdom, that Nation is in a great meaſure indebted for all the ſalutary Laws made there. They would, undoubtedly, bring with them, into a *Britiſh* Houſe of Peers, the ſame Wiſdom, the ſame Eloquence and Integrity; but it were an Outrage to their ſacred Character, to propoſe bringing them ſo far from the better Buſineſs of their holy Function, as it would be Cruelty to expoſe them to Voyages and Journies, hazardous and fatiguing. I doubt not, that in a juſt Contempt of the Vanities of this World, they will gladly reſign theſe troubleſome Offices of Greatneſs, which their Obedience to the Laws alone could oblige them to accept, and hereafter place their true Dignity in *adoring the Doctrines* of the Goſpel by the Influence of their Example and Preaching.

Other

Other Difficulties may probably ariſe in forming, and ſome in executing a Plan of ſuch Extent. But when we conſider, in how ſhort a time the Union with *Scotland* was brought to Perfection, in Oppoſition to a national Diſlike to it, an ancient Antipathy between the Kingdoms, a total Difference of Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, and Manners, we ſhould not be diſcouraged from attempting a Scheme, in which none of theſe Difficulties appear; which promiſes ſuch Advantages to both Nations, and ſo much greater than either can enjoy in a ſeparate State.

Not that we mean to repreſent it as intirely free from Difficulty. It would not then do that Honour, which will continue as long as the Benefits it ſhall produce, to the Perſons, who ſhall carry it into Execu-

tion. In Truth, it requires Men of Abilities and Probity; of clear, diſpaſſionate Tempers, who will meet together with a mutual Spirit of Condeſcenſion and Compliance with Circumſtances and Neceſſities on either Side; who can ſo far throw off the partial Affections and Prejudices of human Nature, as to look upon both Kingdoms, as their common Country, for whoſe Welfare they ſholud beequally zealous. Clamours, Reſentments and Reproaches they muſt expect from the Populace of both Nations; for a Scheme of this Kind is too large and of too great a Variety of Parts for the Generality of People to take in at one View. Beſides, Perſons of partial Intereſts, diſaffected Spirits, and weak underſtandings, which are generally joined with warmer Tempers, will find abundant occaſion to miſrepreſent it.

However,

However, let us, on the contrary, recollect, that there never was, there probably never will be a Time more proper for executing it. We are at Peace with the whole World, and his Majeſty hath aſſured us, that he hath received from all the contracting Powers in the Definitive Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* the moſt full and clear Declarations of their Reſolution to preſerve the general Peace. No foreign Power will therefore interrupt or hinder the Progreſs of our Scheme.

This is a Reflection of ſuch Importance, that if *France* had conſidered how much her Intereſts were concerned, or rather had not her whole Forces been engaged in oppoſing the great Duke of *Marlborough*, had ſhe thrown even a ſmall Body of Men into *Scotland*, when

Union was propoſed there, ſhe would have effectually for that Time, and perhaps, for ever, prevented it.

Let us add, that there never was a Period of Time, when *Great-Britain* was more at Peace within herſelf; ſurely of more Conſequence to her Happineſs, than to be at Peace with the whole World. The late Rebellion hath convinced the Nation, in general, how much the Preſervation of our Religion, Property, Liberty, and Laws, depends upon the Preſervation of his Majeſty and his Royal Family.

The Writer of this Paper would not flatter even a King, nor would he preſume to praiſe Him, if he could avoid it. Some Characters and Perſons are really above Praiſe. Were it not, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary to our Subject, we would not

preſume

preſume to ſay, that his Majeſty is equally the Father of all his People; and equally concerned for their common Happineſs. To his Probity, as an honeſt Man, *the nobleſt Work of God*, according to an Expreſſion of Mr. *Pope*, the Happineſs and Intereſts of Nations might be intruſted. What good Effects may we not promiſe ourſelves in this great Affair from His Juſtice, Integrity, and Love for his People? Upon his Choice of Commiſſioners, the Succeſs of it will in ſome meaſure depend, and, happily for us, there never was a Set of Men in both Kingdoms better qualified for this great Work. And although the preſent Miniſtry have given Peace to *Europe*; although they have reſtored to this Nation its * ancient Friendſhip and good Correſpondence

* See the King's Speech.

dence with *Spain*, which neither the Treaties of twenty Years, nor a long, expenſive War could recover; although they have already made, and are continuing to make a ſucceſsful and happy Progreſs in the Reduction of the Intereſt of the National Debt, yet all theſe great things only make us expect yet greater. The preſent Scheme is truly worthy of their Abilities; and ſince Fame is the nobleſt Reward in this World for Virtue, next to its own Conſciouſneſs of well-doing, let them be aſſured, beſides the Gratitude of the preſent Age, it will be remembered to lateſt Poſterity, that the Kingdoms of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* were united, when GEORGE the Second was their King, and Mr. *Pelham* was Chancellor of the *Exchequer*.

FINIS.